1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

622 the approval of the villagers with whom he is associated; he
628 presides generally at disputes which cannot be settled within
692 a particular village, at inter-village disputes or at discussions of custom which are of concern to the entire set of villages under his jurisdiction; like the headman of a village, he is at most *primus inter pares*. Publicly he is little more than the voice of consensus, though privately his influence is that of an especially respected and powerful person.

69 The "justice" of the Santal, i.e., their institutionalized prac-
[577] tices as distinct from the desires of injured parties, places a strong premium on rendering decisions which will restore severed relationships and permit life to return to what it was
[681] before the dispute. The fee to the "court" is often as substantial as a judgment and must be paid by both parties. There is almost always encouragement to settle "out of court" by friends and officials. Fees paid to the "court" are generally spent to buy rice beer and viands so that after the bitterness of the contest both court and contestants join together in "pleasure," and all
[192] is as it was. These gatherings to settle disputes within the village are usually called "discussions" (*galmarao*); multi-village gatherings are known as *dorbar* (Hindi, *dorbar* = court).

• 584 Besides the judicial tie, each village is bound to a number of
621 others by marriage. Marriage procedures will be discussed at length but it is appropriate here to note that marriage is arranged with the aid of villagers and village officials as well as those associated by kinship and is of great interest and concern to the whole village. The ceremonies of marriage dramatize this concern, reflecting village solidarity in gaining and accepting a daughter or sorrowfully giving one up, as the case may be.

63 Beyond the multi-village judicial organization there are no
184 formally organized territorial units: however, regional cultural

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

182 by data on marriage obtained from those factory workers for
184 whom the bustee is the native village. Of five such individuals,
434 all had arranged *SB* marriages and had poured the major share
583 of their income prior to marriage into the family coffers. Hence, it takes migration plus the separate income derived from industrial employment to produce a shift to love marriage.

178 Given that the conditions of migration to industrial employ-
184 ment provide an opportunity for the prospective groom to choose what form of marriage he desires, the question of why
• 584 he tends to choose the unarranged *NB* remains. The answer
583 appears to be that migration to industrial employment makes marriage primarily a matter of individual concern. In a variety of ways it weakens bonds with extended family, local lineage, and village. Since the bride will not live in the household or the village of the groom's parents, i.e., his native village, neither the parents nor the villagers are so concerned with her. Furthermore, residence in the *bustee* which, as we shall see, is not so solidary as a village, does not facilitate the reciprocal visiting between kin and fellow villagers of the couple which would normally follow a marriage tie. Since migration to industrial employment weakens traditional bonds of solidarity, it not only gives the prospective groom an opportunity to choose an unarranged marriage; it also makes groom, bride, kinsmen, and fellow villagers less desirous of an arranged marriage. All those social ties which are so dramatically expressed in marriage ceremonies and which are consistent with arranged marriages are virtually inoperative for migrants to the *bustee*. Unarranged marriages thus considered are a result of decreased solidarity resulting from migration to industrial employment.

Other considerations may be partially responsible for the

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

shift to *NB*. The Santal themselves point to the urgency felt by a new arrival in the *bustee* to get someone to cook and take care of the house; but the fact that the mean length of time immigrants spend in the *bustee* before marrying is 3.9 years and that only three of forty-seven are married within their first year of residence militates against this explanation. Any urgency that exists must be limited to the few immigrants who do not join the household of a married relative or friend, usually on a rent paying basis.

More important, freedom from parental and village restraint permits Santal men and women to meet each other and form liaisons. While this intermixing occurs to some extent even in traditional villages at festival and market time, women from moderately prosperous families have some difficulty escaping the watchful eyes of parents and kin. On the other hand, in the *bustee* no one is much interested in preventing liaisons, particularly if parents are not present. The resultant freedom is thus another manifestation of weakened ties with the traditional structure, ties which are not replaced by the *bustee*. Eighteen of the thirty-four *NB* marriages of the *bustee* Santal were contracted with working girls; it is probable that a large proportion of the remaining sixteen were with girls who were living in *bustees* while searching for work.

Evidence of one significant change emerged as an unanticipated consequence of the counting procedures used: between eleven and twenty-one years ago, about 64 per cent of the marriages in the *bustee* were *NB*, while in the period zero to ten years ago, 81 per cent were *NB*. Since per capita income was about the same during both these periods, it is possible that norms regarding marriage are gradually changing in the *bustee*.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

177 What began as a shift resulting from migration to industrial
178 employment and consequent weakening of traditional social
184 bonds may have affected the norms by lessening the stigma of
583 low status traditionally associated with the *NB.*

• 584 If one may use the term "modernization" to designate those indigenous developments or borrowings which are patently adaptive or characteristic of industrial urban societies, the shift to unarranged marriages with attenuated ceremonial is an example of modernization. Thus, while industrial development and migration to industrial employment have in a number of ways weakened Santal solidarity, the modernization which it has encouraged has in some respects suggested cultural alternatives not characteristic of traditional Hindu society. Insofar as this has been true, modernization has contributed to the maintenance of distinctiveness and solidarity and thereby inhibited
[171] assimilation. Many aspects of modernization, however, are likely to be equally operative among Hindu and Santal, especially in the long run, so that the cultures are made more alike.*

The Decline of Ceremonies in Bustee *and City*

177 Even a casual observer might note that ceremonies in the
178 *bustee* as compared with those in the village are less well at-
184 tended and often attenuated. As for the city Santal, they prac-
796 tice no communal forms of worship like those traditionally performed at the "Sacred Grove" as long as they remain in the city; often they do not even perform ancestor worship in

[114] * Dr. Milton Singer called my attention to the significance of modernization with respect to my data on marriage and ceremonial and pointed out its significance in terms of acculturation and assimilation, though I am of course responsible for the form that his remarks have assumed above.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

III. ALL IN CONNEXION WITH MARRIAGE

a. The marriage-broker.

When anyone is in need of getting a wife for his son, he gets hold of a marriage-broker[1]. He says to him (her): I say, find out a bride for us somewhere. The marriage-broker answers: What kind of girl? The boy's father says: Such and such a one. The marriage-broker says: I remember some that is so; wait, I must first ask them whether they are agreeable or not. The boy's father says to him: Well then, come back here when you have made inquiries, after so and so many days. 584 •

Thereupon the marriage-broker goes to the house of the friends concerned and asks them, saying: I intend to bring some friends to you, will it suit you or not? What do you say? They answer him: What kind of friends? you are giving us quite a fright. The marriage-broker says: Good friends, of course, there is no cause for fear. Then he speaks plainly to them, saying: Have they shut in this girl anywhere or not? They answer him: No, she is unoccupied. The marriage-broker then says: In that case I shall bring some friends to you. They answer him: Well, that is so, you will bring some friends; of what sept are they? The marriage-broker tells them: Of such and such sept. Then they ask him: Of what village? He says: Of such and such village. They ask him: Who are they? He says: They are so and so. Then they say: Well then, provided they are pleased with us. The marriage-broker then says to them: At such and such a day I shall conduct them here, please be at home. They answer him: Please, this time, let it be somewhere outside, otherwise there might perhaps occur something shameful, if we should not be pleased with each other.

The marriage-broker then goes to the boy's father and says to him: The friends said, All right, please bring them, but this time somewhere outside. I have fixed a time for them after so and so many days; then we shall go.

b. Omens.

When the fixed day comes, the marriage-broker comes there and in the early morning takes them along, viz., the boy's parents and a couple of the village people. They start. If they, within the boundary of their own village, or of the girl's village, see fire, an 584 787

[1] see Santal Dictionary s. v. reaber.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

584 787 axe, firewood on a woman's head, a snake or a jackal crossing the road in front of them, it is a bad omen, and they return home. But if they, within the boundary of their own village, or of the girl's village, see a full vessel, a cow, a new earthenware vessel, a pack bullock, or the footmarks of a tiger, these are excellent omens[2] for them; therefore they go in to the Jǫg Mǫñjhi of the girl's village. (This in connexion with omens is nowadays only custom, because the boy's father tells the village headman in advance, viz., on such and such a day we shall, in the early morning, go to have a look at a vessel; warn the people of the village that they must not at that time touch anything that will hinder. The marriage-broker also tells the headman of the girl's village that the people of his village may behave in the same way.)

584 The marriage-broker says to the Jǫg Mǫñjhi: We have come to see a vessel; you, please, show us this piec'. The Jǫg Mǫñjhi then goes to the house of the girl's father and tells them: The friends have come. They reply: Very well. Then the Jǫg Mǫñjhi says to the girl: Come a couple of you girls to our house; some visitors have come to us; you pour out water[3] for them, we have no one to do it. The girl's parents then say to their daughter: Do go, girl. Then some three girls go; when they arrive there they go round and bow to all who are gathered. The girl concerned keeps her place as the middle one of the three, in order not to be ashamed. The marriage-broker then whispers to the boy's parents, saying: Look at the one in the middle. When they have greeted all, the girls will stand there for a moment and then go home. When they have left, the Jǫg Mǫñjhi asks the marriage-broker: Well, how is it? Are you satisfied or not? The visitors answer: Yes, it is all right, so far as we are concerned; we are pleased; the question is whether they also will be pleased.

The Jǫg Mǫñjhi then goes to the home of the girl's parents, who ask him: How is it, Jǫg Mǫñjhi, what did the friends say? Are they pleased or not? The Jǫg Mǫñjhi replies: The friends have said it is all right, they are pleased. The girl's father then says to the Jǫg Mǫñjhi: Please, bring the friends here, they must drink some water before they leave. The Jǫg Mǫñjhi returns to his own house and says to the visitors: Please, Sir Marriage-Broker, the friends are calling us, we shall drink some water before leaving. The young men's party say: No, not so, it is well as it is; shall we not drink later on? Surely we shall. If the girl's father has brewed beer or something, the Jǫg Mǫñjhi speaks earnestly to them: Come along, you need not sit down, I shall not keep you for many moments. They consequently understand that they have brewed beer; then they go. The Jǫg Mǫñjhi takes them along. The girls are there. As soon as the visitors arrive, they, i. e., the girls, bring them bedsteads, stools, pieces of wood to sit on. Pouring out water for them they again salute them. When this is done, the girl's parents greet the

[2] Omens seem to be paid less attention to now than formerly; Kolean's remarks, put within parentheses, are significant. [3] Visitors from a distance get their feet washed. It is an act of courtesy.

[178] [787] [576]

visitors, and they ask each other how they are faring. Thereupon the girls wash the feet of the visitors. Thereupon they take them inside; now they give all there beer and food. When they have had food and drink, they say good-bye to them. Some people will not the first time go to the home of the girl's parents; they return straight from the house of the Jog Mañjhi. 584

When they have come back home, the young man's father says to the marriage-broker: Well, come back here after so and so many days. When he comes on the fixed day they give him beer and say to him: Please, bring the friends here in their turn. The marriage-broker then goes to the girl's home and says to them: Please, the friends are calling us, when are we to go? The girl's father says: Wait a little, I must call these and these. He then calls the village headman and his deputy and the Jog Mañjhi; if he has beer or something, they drink and have a talk. The girl's father says: The friends are calling us; please, what day are we to fix for the marriage-broker? They fix the fifth day from then. The marriage-broker returns and tells the young man's father that the friends will come after so and so many days. The young man's father brews a couple of earthenware pots of beer.

On the fixed day, early in the morning, the people of the girl's side, her parents and a couple of others go to have a look at the prospective bridegroom. The marriage-broker conducts them thither. If they, inside the boundary of their own village, or of the village of the young man, see fire, an axe, firewood on the head of a woman, a snake, or a jackal crossing the road in front of them from the left side, it is a bad omen; consequently they return home, and there will be no marriage; but if they, inside their own boundary, or the boundary of the village of the young man, see a full earthenware pot, a cow, a new vessel, a pack bullock, or the foot-marks of a tiger, this is a very good omen for them; consequently they go in to the Jog Mañjhi of the young man's village. The marriage-broker says to the Jog Mañjhi: Please, Jog Mañjhi, we shall look up the friends, don't keep us long here. The Jog Mañjhi then goes to the young man's home and says to his parents: Friends have come to us; I shall take the young man with me for a short while. The young man's parents send him along with a couple of his comrades. The Jog Mañjhi takes them along. They arrive there and greet the visitors. The young man goes along between two others. The marriage-broker now whispers to the parents of the girl, saying: Look at him in the middle. They do so; if they are not pleased they privately say to the marriage-broker: Our girl will surely not be pleased, he is too old, or they will name some excuse or other, and they will quietly return home. If they are pleased, they will also tell the marriage-broker this. The marriage-broker tells the Jog Mañjhi this, and he informs the parents of the young man. Hearing this the parents of the young man say to the Jog Mañjhi: Please bring the friends here, they will go home when they have drunk some water. He brings them, and when they have all greeted each other, they [787]

584 make the young man once more salute the parents of the girl and their companions. Now the girls of the house wash the feet of the visitors, and they take them inside. First they drink beer; thereupon they give them food. When they have eaten, they say good-bye to them. They return home; this is now finished.

c. Seeing house and home.

Now the girl's people go to see the young man's house and home, that they may know how their circumstances are. On this occasion the uncles and aunts of the girl on both father's and mother's side, the headman of their village and his deputy and a couple of the village people go along with them. The marriage-broker takes them straight to the house of the parents of the prospective bridegroom. Here they place bedsteads, stools, and wooden slabs to sit on before them, and they sit down. Then they bring water in loṭas[4]
[515] and brass-cups, and they salute them one after the other. Thereupon they bring wooden slabs, water and oil in an earthenware lamp-vessel, and after the visitors have placed their feet on a wooden slab they wash their feet and anoint them with oil. When they have been washed the Jǫg Mạńjhi goes inside the house, brings oil out in a small earthenware vessel and one handful of tooth-brush twigs[5] and says to them: Do come along, we shall go to the water. He takes them along there. Here they bathe, clean their teeth and rub themselves in with oil. Thereupon they return to the house and again sit down on the bedsteads, as before. The people of the house now take mats inside and say: Please bring water for the friends in a loṭa; and this is done. The visitors now wash their hands; they take them into the house, and they sit down on the mats.

The Jǫg Mạńjhi then says: Please bring the beer. This is done; first they give the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there, they give each four leaf-cups of beer. Again the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please bring us beer in brass-cups, each of us once; give the friends. Thereupon they give all of them beer, and the village headman says: Please, Jǫg Mạńjhi, call a girl and let her pick up and throw these leaf-cups away. She does this, and they bring a brass-cup and water in a loṭa, thereupon all of them get their hands washed over the brass-cup.

Again the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please bring leaf-plates; and these are brought. First they place one before the village headman, and thereupon one before his deputy, and thereupon
[262] before all who are there. The Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Listen, one of you young men come here, give us some parched rice and some flattened rice[6]. First he gives the village headman, thereupon his deputy, and thereupon all who are there. Now the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please, honoured friends, let us wet the parched and flattened rice. They do this, and again the

[415] [515] [4] The loṭa is a small metal vessel, generally of brass. [5] Like the Hindus the Santals are very careful with their teeth and constantly brush them with a small twig, shaved into a brush. The word dạtạuni, tooth brush, is Hindi. [6] see Santal Dictionary s. vv. khạjạri and tabọn.

Jog Mąńjhi says: Please, bring some molasses. When this is brought, they give the village headman and his deputy and after them all who are there. 584 [262]

The Jog Mąńjhi then says: Honoured friends, as you see, we are drying people; otherwise in olden times they were saying, the rich people dry paddy and husks, as for us, we are drying you friends; for this, honoured friends, be especially grieved. Then the visitors answer: The grieving ones, Sir, have all gone in advance, to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand they have gone to herd crocodiles. Thereupon they eat, and when this is done the Jog Mąńjhi again says: Listen, we have cut and cleared the threshing-floor, please, bring us again some parched and flattened rice. They bring this and give to all who are there. The Jog Mąńjhi then says: Please, bring the friends some water from the closet of the ancestors[7]. Then they give them each one brass-cup full of beer. They finish eating and drinking.

Now the Jog Mąńjhi calls out: You wife of the eldest son (if there is no such one, he will call some other girl), come here, pick up these leaf-plates and throw them away; bring some water in a loṭa, and pour some out in a brass-cup for all of us; we shall wash our hands and mouth. When they have washed themselves, they give each of them two leaf-cups of beer. They then come out from the house, enter the cow-shed[8] and sit down on bedsteads. The Jog Mąńjhi says: You, wife of the eldest son (if there is such a one there), please bring a hookah[9] and tobacco. She brings this, and they hand it over to the visitors. [515] [352] [276]

The Jog Mąńjhi now goes into the house and says to the father of the young man: Look here, Sir, what shall we give the visitors to eat with the rice? He answers: Some of you call my eldest son. They call him; he comes and says: Why have you called me, father? His father says to him in reply: I say, my son, bring the biggest castrated goat. He goes and brings it. [231]

The Jog Mąńjhi then says: Do bring some water in a loṭa. They bring this and pour the water on the head of the castrated goat; thereupon they kill it.

They ask the visitors to sit down and take food. When they have given everybody rice and curry, the Jog Mąńjhi says: As you see, Sirs, you are our friends; as for us, we are drying the friends; our ancestors of old, the rich ones, they would dry paddy and husks; as you see, we are drying you, our friends; let this especially grieve you. The visitors then reply: Yes, Sir, the grieving ones have gone to Somae's narrow valley, to the fine sand to herd crocodiles. Now they eat; when they have done, they wash and chew tobacco with lime.

Before they say good-bye to them, they again take them inside and give them beer. When they have drunk, they come out to be said good-bye to. They stand in a row, and while in this position they salute each other. Thereupon they see them off, and they go away.

[7] See Santal Dictionary s. v. bhitar. [8] During day-time, when no cattle is there, the cow-shed is commonly used for visitors. Bedsteads are placed here to sit down on. [9] See Santal Dictionary s. vv. huka and thamakur. [343] [352]

[1] Calc. Sin. Mus. — Bodding.

d. Betrothal.

584 The marriage-broker goes and comes. They fix a day for the betrothal[10]. They perform the ceremony of betrothal with the bride-elect first. On the fixed day the marriage-broker takes the young man's father, his father's younger and elder brothers, his mother's brothers, his father's sister's husband, the village headman and his deputy and a couple of the people of the village along to the girl's home. The Jog Mahjhi of the prospective bride's village meets the visitors at the end of the village street with water in a loṭa and conducts them to the bride's home. Here they place bedsteads, stools, and wooden slabs before them, and they sit down.

The girl's parents and their brothers now come out from the house, and pouring out water for them they greet the visitors. After this they act as it was done in the young man's home, wash their feet, take them out to bathe, and when they have come back after bathing, they give them beer and parched and flattened rice. When they have eaten, the visitors go into the cow-shed, where they sit down.

As in the young man's home, they also here bring a castrated goat and pour water on its head. The Jog Mahjhi now says: Honoured friends, here are some vegetables[11], cut it down for us. The visitors then kill the castrated goat. The Jog Mahjhi calls out: You, eldest boy, do come here, cut this castrated goat up for us. They do so, cut the meat into bits and prepare the rice and curry. The visitors now say: Please, Jog Mahjhi, be quick and expedite us.

The Jog Mahjhi then says: You, eldest boy, do spread out the mats for us thus. He does this and the Jog Mahjhi says: Honoured friends, we shall get off the bedsteads and sit on the mats. They sit down on the mats, and the Jog Mahjhi says: Please, now bring the beer. They drink each two leaf-cups, just so much.

The Jog Mahjhi then says: Please, Sir, now bring some water by the hand of the bride. They bring beer in a brass-cup. The bride-girl first brings a brass-cup full of beer and a loṭa with water to the village headman and bows to him. After him she brings the same to his deputy and bows to him also. Thereupon she gives the bridegroom's father one brass-cup beer and water in a loṭa. When he has drunk the beer, he puts the brass-cup down, and taking hold of the bride's upper arm he makes her sit on his thigh; he puts a brass necklet on her and kisses her mouth. Now those of the bride's side sing:

[539] Please, my good mother, let me have one loṭa with water
To place before my father-in-law, when I greet him.

This they sing while the prospective bride gives the water to the bridegroom's father. When he makes the bride sit on his thigh they sing:

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[10] See Santal Dictionary s. v. sikhao. [11] Fig. about the goat.

MARRIAGE

as 584 [539]

Look at her, so and so,
Know her, so and so,
If you are pleased with her, place her on your thigh.

The bride-elect comes off from the thigh of the bridegroom's father and bows to him; once again she gives him beer. After this she gives all of them beer and water in a loṭa. And they sing: [539]

Who are they who take water round in a gourd-shell, in a spout-vessel?
Who are they who received the water in the gourd-shell, in the spout-vessel?

Who are they who sought, who are they who got the good omens,
With the water of the gourd-shell, of the spout-vessel?

So and so are the people who take round the water of the gourd-shell,
of the spout-vessel;
So and so are the people who received the water of the gourd-shell,
of the spout-vessel.

So and so are the people who sought, so and so are the people
who got the good omens
With the water of the gourd-shell, of the spout-vessel.

Instead of the words "so and so" they name the septs of the prospective bride and bridegroom. As is known, persons of the same sept do not marry, only when they are of different septs. [582]

When all have drunk they say to the Jog Mṛñjhi: Listen, Jog Mṛñjhi, please go at once inside and see whether the rice and curry are ready or not as yet. He goes in and sees that they have it ready. The girl's father then calls out to the wife of his eldest son: O daughter-in-law, bring water in loṭas and cups. She does this and from the loṭa pours water into the brass-cup for one after the other of them, to wash their hands. Now the Jog Mṛñjhi calls out: O eldest boy, please, you there, bring the rice and curry, the leaf-plates and the leaf-cups. Bringing these they place them first before the village headman, thereupon before his deputy, and afterwards they give to all who are there, to one after the other. Now the village headman makes the ceremonial recitation to the visitors: The wealthy ancestors dried the paddy and the husks; we, Sirs, are drying you; please be especially grieved at this. They answer: Yes, Sir, we certainly intend to eat; only when a great many things are brought near shall we be able to eat, straw-bits to wit, water to wit, leaves to wit, firewood to wit; only when all this is brought together, when it is cooked, when it is finally prepared, when all requirements are in order, then only we shall be able to eat.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

584 [276] When they have done eating and drinking, they wash themselves, and coming out into the courtyard they chew tobacco. The Jog Mâjhi then says: Look here, Sir, when shall we see the visitors off? They say to the Jog Mâjhi: Please go at once in and see whether there is room or not. He does this, there is room. Then they take the visitors (viz., the village headman and his deputy and the father of the prospective bridegroom and with him two-three people) inside and spread out mats for them to sit on. When they have sat down, the Jog Mâjhi says: Please, bring the beer. They do so and give it to the visitors; when this is done, the fathers of the bridegroom and the bride sit down together in one place, and they bring them beer at the same time. Both of them then say: Please, co-parent-in-law, let us drink this beer. While they are drinking they say: Let us salute the friends. They both salute every one of the visitors. Thereupon the two co-parents-in-law take hold of each other's hands and move them three times backwards and forwards between them; they raise them up towards their heads; thereupon they butt each other's shoulders three times, and when this is done they again move their hands backwards and forwards between them and raising them towards their heads they say: Saheb! At this moment they sing: [539]

Pleasure, pleasure, pleasure, o mother,
Pleasure, look what enjoyment!
On both sides the co-parents-in-law
Are tied together with chains,
On both sides the co-parents-in-law have
great enjoyment.

The girl's father then says: Listen, my co-parent-in-law, now this is your house. And the bridegroom's father says: The house far away is yours, my co-parent-in-law. Thereupon both co-parents-in-law say to each other: My co-parent-in-law, when you somehow were wandering about in villages and hamlets, were coming hunting and chasing, up to this time in the plains and open country, in the forest and jungle, you have drunk water from the dug-out holes in the rivers, from the pools; now from to-day please cease doing this, there is the shade of a pole with creepers, water in a gourd-bottle, the nest of a Finch Lark, please come straight here with a rush; don't turn to the right or to the left; when you somehow come wandering in this direction, come in here on your way past; you will drink some water on your way; you will also visit the children on your way. Talking together they finish the beer.

The visitors then say: Sir Jog Mâjhi, please make haste and send us off. Then they go out into the courtyard. The people of the bride's side stand on one side, and those of the bridegroom's side on one side, opposite to each other; they salute the visitors one after the other; when they have been said good-bye to they go home. At this time the Jog Mâjhi says: Honoured friends, as you know, you plucked hill-vegetables for us,

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

you are surely forgetting the battle-axe, leaving it here; look here is yours. And he gives them the shoulder of the goat; they take this along with them. 584

In the same way the father of the bride and their party also go and give the bridegroom the sign of betrothal.

e. Handing over the money.

The marriage-broker goes and comes. The bridegroom's father says to him: Do find out what the friends have in mind and bring us word. He goes, and on returning he says: They have said yes. The father of the bridegroom then calls the village headman and his deputy, the Jǫg Mạńjhi and two-three of the village people together and gives them beer. The village headman then asks him: What beer is this? The father of the bridegroom says: This, Sir Headman, is marriage-broker beer; my intention is that we should hand over the money[12]. They finish the beer.

They then tie knots on a string, for five days or seven days. The marriage-broker takes the knot-string to the people of the bride's side. If these think the day too near, they want a longer time, and what they say will be done.

When the fixed day comes, the bridegroom's father calls the village headman and his deputy, the Jǫg Mạńjhi and the Goḍet and says: The day for handing over the money has come; come along, we shall go as the bridegroom's party. Then these people say: There are small and big people in the village; let us first call and bring them. Then they send the Goḍet to call them together. They come and ask the bridegroom's father: Look here, Sir, will there be enough oil and turmeric or not? He answers: There will be enough. Now they make the village priest and his wife sit down beside each other on a mat, and the anointing girls[13] anoint them with oil and turmeric. Thereupon they anoint the village headman and his wife, after them the Paranik, the Jǫg Mạńjhi, the Jǫg Paranik and the Goḍet together with their respective wives. After this the parents of the bridegroom sit down on sheaves of thatching-grass and are anointed. Thereupon all the women of the village, big and small. Now the Jǫg Mạńjhi says: Please, bring the bridegroom, we shall anoint him. The bridegroom's mother then says: There is no conductor[14] of ceremonies. If the young man has no elder sister, then his elder brother's wife or even a (younger) sister will do for this. Again, they say, there is no follower[15] of the bridegroom, where shall we get such a one? Then they say: There is the son of his father's younger brother; he is younger than the bridegroom; we shall make him be the bridegroom's follower. If [605]

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[12] The payment of money is intended to be a proof of legal possession. [13] The anointing girls are — on both sides — three spinsters whose work is to anoint the bridal pair and others with oil and turmeric at the preliminary and the actual marriage operations. [14] The ṣẽsurić, lit., the one who leads round, has always to be a near female relative of the bridegroom. [15] The follower (lumti), also called the "best-man", is always a real or, if none such is available, an imaginary younger cousin of the bridegroom. [585] [605]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

584 [605] there are no cousins (sons of father's brothers), a son of some other man will do, provided he stands in the relationship of cousin.

Now they bring a loṭa which they hand to the wife of the bridegroom's elder brother and say to her: Please, take the bridegroom round. The anointing girls take the mat in their arms, and the wife of the bridegroom's elder brother guides them, and having taken the loṭa with water she pours out a little round about. They go round three times; thereupon the anointing girls spread out the mat, and the bridegroom, his follower and the conductor of ceremonies sit down on this.

The Jog Mañjhi then says: Please say to the bridegroom's mother that she may come. She comes; now they have oil and turmeric in a leaf-cup, and they say to the Jog Mañjhi: Tell the bridegroom's mother that she should smear some oil and turmeric on the cheek of her son. When she has done this, the Jog Mañjhi says to the anointing girls: Now his mother has prepared the way, please, anoint the bridegroom. They do this; and the marriage-broker says to them: Make yourselves ready, it is becoming night; come along. They are now on the point of starting.

They then ask the marriage-broker: Will you take us along the highroad or along a path? He says: I shall take us along the highroad. They take with them two rupees and a brass-necklet, further a kettle-drum and a Ram's horn[16]; drumming and blowing the horn they go on. When they reach the village, they stop at the end of the village street. The marriage-broker goes in advance to the bride's home and says to them: See, we have come, please meet us with water, and show us where you are putting us up. Now some people in the village may have an empty house[17], and they say to the Jog Mañjhi: Do go and find out and bring us word. He finds such a place; and carrying a loṭa with water on a leaf-plate on the palm of his hand turned upwards he goes to the bridegroom's party and says to them: Come along, you of the bridegroom's party[18], I shall take us to the lodgings. Then they go there. The bridegroom's party say to the Jog Mañjhi and the Goḍet: Please, get us firewood and leaves, two earthenware cooking pots for the rice, one earthenware small vessel, some wooden spoons and ladles, and show us where we can get water; where shall we find it when it is night? And also get us a flat basket, please, to pour the cooked rice out in. They bring them all this.

Thereupon the bridegroom's party pour out the fatigue removing beer; they give the Jog Mañjhi and his companion and also drink themselves. The Jog Mañjhi and his companion then say to them: Do prepare your food, and when we get ready we shall call you.

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[16] See Santal Dictionary s. v. Hindi Singdanga. [17] I. e., where there is nothing that the presence of strangers might contaminate. [18] It might be noted that the word, here and elsewhere, translated "bridegroom's party" stands for those who represent the family and especially the village community of the bridegroom. The word (bariatko) is of Aryan origin, which may be of some significance.

[609] [192] [602]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

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In the bride's home they pour out and squeeze out the beer; thereupon they send for the bridegroom's party. When they come, they salute each other; thereupon they make them sit down in the courtyard on straw; the village people also sit down. The Jog Mañjhi brings water and tobacco to the visitors and says: Do bring us the beer. They do this, and they drink the beer. The Jog Mañjhi then says: Listen, you the father of the bride, how many rupees will you take as bride-price? we shall let the bridegroom's party know. Those of the bride's side and those of the bridegroom's side do not verbally speak together. The Jog Mañjhi on the bride's side makes two leaf-cups. In one leaf-cup he puts twenty cowries, and in one leaf-cup he puts three twisted threads; one of these is half white and half red, and two of them are mostly white with one strand of red thread.

Now he calls on the marriage-broker and says to him: Look here, marriage-broker, this is yours, take it. He takes the two leaf-cups to the bridegroom's party. They do not take up the thread, but taking out one cowry they hand the leaf-cup back to the marriage-broker, saying: Do take it to the bride's father. He does this, and they look at it, saying: There is one wanting. They add one more, and handing it to the marriage-broker they say to him: Do take it to the bridegroom's father. They again take one out and send the leaf-cup back. They do the same three times or five times. Then they do not take any more, and now they talk. If the bride's father gets a bride-price of three rupees, the bridegroom's father keeps two cowries; if the bride-price becomes five rupees, he keeps three cowries, and if they give seven rupees as bride-price, he keeps seven cowries. When the bride-price paid is three rupees, the bridegroom's people get nothing in return. When it is five rupees, they get one cow and one brass-cup and for the bridegroom a cotton shawl and a loin-cloth, and the village people on the bridegroom's side get a castrated goat, one earthenware pot of beer and five half-seers of rice, together with salt and turmeric. This they call "bride-price recompense". And if the bride's people receive seven rupees as bride-price, they will have to give a cow with calf, one brass-cup and one brass-plate and for the bridegroom a cotton-shawl and a loincloth; and the bridegroom's people get as "bride-price recompense" a castrated goat, one pot of beer, and seven half-seers of rice.

Thereupon the bridegroom's party put a brass-neckring on the bride, and she gives them beer. After this they hand two rupees of the bride-price over into the hands of the Jog Mañjhi, and with these in his hand he salutes all there. This money they call: Track covering[19]. The Jog Mañjhi gives this money to the bride's father. Having saluted the others the bridegroom's party then go to their lodgings. After a short while they again send for them to come and partake of the feast. They act as they did at the time of the betrothal. When they have eaten, they go to their lodgings to lie down. The following

[19] See Santal Dictionary s. v. Pañja tan.

2; Skrefarud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

584 morning they again send for the bridegroom's party. They give them beer, and the bride's mother gives the marriage-broker five seers of flattened and parched rice and ties it up in his cloth. All now go out into the courtyard and salute each other; they say good-bye to the bridegroom's party. And these come home, well and good.

f. Of the marriage itself.

The marriage-broker goes and comes. On both sides they get together what is needed for the marriage. When the money has been handed over, the marriage takes place, sometimes the same year and sometimes also after a lapse of one or two years.

585 When they feel like being able to have the marriage, the bridegroom's father says to the marriage-broker: Do bring us a knot-string[2] from the friends. He consequently goes to the bride's home and says to them: Please let us tie the knots. The bride's father then calls the village headman and his deputy and the Jog Mañjhi together and gives them beer. When they are drinking this the village headman asks him: What beer is this? The bride's father answers them: The marriage-broker has come; say for how many days shall we tie knots for him? They count the days and possible hindrances. When they have done this, they tie nine knots.

Thereupon they twist thread as signs for a twelve cubits long red and white striped cloth for the mother of the bride, and for an eight cubits long cloth for the bride's maternal grandmother, and a seven cubits long cloth for the bride's paternal grandmother. They give the knot-string and the twisted threads to the marriage-broker, and he takes them to the bridegroom's father.

When the bridegroom's father gets this, he calls the village headman and his deputy and says to them: You see this, they have sent us the knot-string; what are we to say? They say: It is well, let us also tie knots in reply to them. They drink the beer and also tie knots, five strings, one for the bride's father, one for the headman of the bridegroom's village, one for his deputy, one for the Jog Mañjhi, and one for the relatives of the bridegroom's father. The knot-string for the bride's father they at once send by the marriage-broker.

When three days remain, the bridegroom's father calls the village headman and his deputy and says to them: Listen, Sir, as you know, the day is getting near, let us set up the marriage-shed[3]. They answer him: All right. The bridegroom's father then says to them: Please get hold of five young men and five girls for me. The Jog Mañjhi then

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[2] To ensure keeping correct time, or to know the day of certain coming events the Santals tie knots or rather loops on a string, one knot for every day remaining. It is done in connexion with marriage and bhaṇḍan (the last funeral ceremonies). It is always an uneven number, seven or nine, and occasionally eleven knots. The string is taken to the parties concerned, who keep it and, as the days pass, release one knot each day; when the last knot is opened, they know that the day has come. It is to them a practical way of keeping time.

[3] See Santal Dictionary s. v. maṇḍwa. The word is Hindi.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 6 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

majority of Santal sociologists into thinking that fraternal polyandry may have once existed amongst the tribe. A corresponding custom is noticed which permits a wife to admit her younger sister into intimate relations with her husband, and if untoward consequences follow, the scandal is avoided by a formal marriage, *Hirom Cetan* (marriage while a co-wife exists).[a]

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1. *Orthodox Marriage*

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Various kinds of marriages are permitted by the tribe. Now we shall discuss the ceremonials attending them. The first form that deserves mention is the regular marriage, called *Asli* or *Duar Itut Sindur Bapla* in Mayurbhanj. It is the same as what Risley mentions as "*Bapla* or *Kering Bàbu*," literally "bride-purchase," or what Dr. Campbell names as "*Kiriñ Bàbu Bapla*." This system, the most orthodox, is really a marriage arranged by the elders of the family, without necessarily an element of pre-marital love between the couple.

Selection of Bride

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Now, suppose a householder wants a suitable bride for his son, he will have a confidential chat with some of his friends about the suitable girls of

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a. Risley, *People of India*, App. VIII.

3s Mukherjea O. Y-4, 8 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

584 the locality. If they hit upon any, they will now make enquiries and if they think her a proper mate for the youth, will inform the Headman of the girl's village about the desires of the youth's father. These talks generally emanate from the bridegroom's side, the opposite party does not make the first advances. Now, if the girl's father agrees to talk over the proposal, a discussion of their clans and sub-clans and the other prohibited degrees follow, so that the marriage may not infringe the tribal laws. If these are found to be satisfactory enough, the youth's father will be informed when he may see the girl.

Omen Reading

584 787 574 Now, when the youth's father starts with a party on the day appointed, they will drop the journey and the marriage proposal, if they see a cart carrying fuel or a jackal passing from their right to left or a man carrying an axe or a *Kudi* (an implement for digging earth) or even receive the news of the death of a cow. But should they receive obituary notices of a man on reaching the girl's village, they will think the youth a lucky fellow, as on such journeys the intelligence of a man's death is the best possible omen.

584 574 [576] Now, they assemble at the house of the village Headman and after profuse salutations refresh themselves. The girl will now find herself escorted to

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

the Headman's residence, where, she is closely inspected from head to foot by the youth's father and his friends. 584 574

If the party is satisfied with the prospective bride, the Headman is privately informed, and henceforward, a go-between (*raebaric'*) is selected to continue the negotiation, and then the party will think it worthwhile to visit the house of the girl's father where they may have an opportunity to judge their future relatives closely. Similarly, the bride's party now goes to the bridegroom's house. They reach the house of the village Headman at first, who, thereafter, conducts them to the bridegroom's house where they are received. The bridegroom is rubbed with oil and turmeric paste by the bride's mother. He is also presented with bead necklaces, kissed by the prospective mother-in-law and addressed as "*baba*" (an endearing term).

Betrothal (Takacal)

The preliminaries being thus settled, another day is now fixed for the Betrothal Ceremony. When the bridegroom's party arrives, they at first go to the house of the Headman of the bride's village. Next, accompanied by the Headman they go to the house of the bride's father. The bride is presented with some ornaments by the bridegroom's mother,

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

584 574 and she (bride) makes *johar* (salutation) to all superiors present.

A rupee, some sun-dried rice, "Dhubi ghans," (a common grass, *Cynodon Dactylon*, Pres; Bengali, *durba* grass) placed on a *sal*-leaf, are then held by the go-between on behalf of the bridegroom's father. Next, it is handed over to the Headman of the bride's village, after which it is inspected by the village-elders and the women (of the bride's village). Then it is presented to the bride's father by the Headman. This ceremony is called *hòròk' chinà ṭakacal* (lit. to wear a sign of betrothal).

The members of the party now have a hearty drink of rice-beer, while the bride, sitting on the lap of her prospective mother-in-law, is rubbed all over with oil and turmeric paste. Next, the bride is affectionately made to wear the ornaments presented. Now, the Headman addresses both the parties with a nice little speech implying that the knot is now firmly tied between the couple and neither of them may marry elsewhere. The leaders of both the parties repeat his words as they reply "No, they cannot marry any one else."

The bridegroom's party now returns home. [583] After some time, the go-between (*raebaric'*) will again visit the house of the bride's father, sounding him as regards the sum of money it is their custom to take as bride-price, the number of cloths and

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

heads of cattle they require as incidental presents to the bride's family, and the date that would suit them for the marriage ceremony. These being satisfactorily settled, the final date is fixed; the intervening number of days being shown in knots in a rope (*Bapla Gira*). Thereafter, one knot is loosened each night and when there are none, it is the day for marriage.

Rates of Bride-price (*gònòn*)

Here, some observations as regards the rates of bride-price may prove interesting. Generally speaking, the rate of money payment for buying a bride varies between rupees three to rupees twelve in some quarters. In the Santal Parganas, rupees five is taken to be the average. But at Mayurbhanj, we were faced with two practices, the one insisted on fixed rates as rupees three or five, seven or twelve, whereas, others were disposed to be more elastic as regards any such fixity and even ready to pay more, if financially capable.[1]

As regards the ceremonial presents to the bride's party, if the bride's parents are alive, her father and brother will receive a he-calf each. If her paternal

1. In the Sadar subdivision, Mayurbhanj, bride-price goes up to R. 12. In Bamanghati and Barsai, we gathered, the sum paid does not exceed R. 3.

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4, 6 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

584 43 uncle demands the present of a calf, he has, according to custom, to present in return some ornaments to his niece together with some utensils.

583 584 43 Should, however, the bride's father receive so low a price as rupees three for his daughter, we are told that he need not pay anything to the bridegroom or to the village elders on both sides. If, however, he (bride's father) receives or demands big sums like rupees five or twelve, he has to pay the bridegroom various returns in the shape of presents. During our enquiries at Mayurbhanj, one such specific instance came to our notice. This practice is not, however, uniform. Here the bride's father who received rupees twelve as *gònòñ* (*bride-price*) had to present the married couple, two bullocks, a ploughshare, a yoke, a dog, a cat, a maid servant and other utensils and ornaments.

584 431 There are curious customs regarding the presents of cloths by the bridegroom to his bride's family. One such called, *Boñga Sari*, fourteen cubits in length, has got to be presented to his grand-mother-in-law, even if she happens to be dead. The next one, called *Ma Sari* (twelve cubits), goes to his mother-in-law, dead or alive. Custom has slackened a bit with regard to *Boñga Sari*, should the grand-mother-in-law be dead, but *Ma Sari* is always insisted upon as compulsory. The next cloth, *Hare* (eight cubits), is meant as a present to the bride's

3i Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

father's sister. In this case the bridegroom may present only one, even if there be several of them. 584 • 431

Preparation For Wedding

585 Now preparations for the marriage set the village buzzing with activity. Village elders assemble at the houses of both the bride and bridegroom in the afternoon. The villagers erect sylvan grottos sparkling with leaves and flowers and encircle the place with mango-leaves stuck in coils of strings, and thus decorate the outdoor across the *Kulhi* (village lane). The villagers get six pots of *Hàṇḍia* (rice-beer) from both the parties, two pots for the *ṭakacal* (Betrothal Ceremony), two for *Giratal* and two for *Dharua Ruku* ceremonies to follow just now, when the village elders at the bridegroom's house will ask for the bride-price (*gònòn*) and the other ceremonial presents to be made over to them for examination. These include various dues to be paid to the Headman of the bride's party, the wife of the bride's elder brother, the friend of the bride and the vermilion to be applied to the bride's forehead. These, including an uncastrated goat, are thus ceremonially inspected, by the bride's party along with the women-folk present.

The bridegroom is next thrice bathed on a hole in the ground where a pair of yokes have been

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

585 valent Hindu forms. Many of the ceremonials as
177 the application of vermilion to the bride's forehead, have been traced directly to Hindu influences.
585 This *sindur dan* or *sindrà dan* is a remnant of the
174 primitive custom of mixing the blood of the husband
177 and wife, which they either drank or daubed themselves with, as a symbol of an eternal union. As it is a queer problem to discover whether the egg came first or the hen was first, ethnologists have in their turn, traced Dravidian influences in the
[171] custom. Similarly, the marriage with a *mòhua*
[588] tree, the race of the husband and wife while at the ceremony, called *Kado ghata*, have their parallel in the customs of the Hindus of the Central belt.

II. LOVE MARRIAGE

(1) Raja Raji

583 The freedom of social intercourse that the
[834] Santals allow to their boys and girls, naturally leads to many love-marriages ; but the Santals, even when in love, have to go through certain formalities
583 before living as man and wife. So we see that
584 when a couple feel the urge for matrimony, they go
[622] to the house of the village Headman and inform him of their desire. The Headman now will take them to the house of the lover and there, in the presence of the village elders, the beloved is asked

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

formally as to whether she is a consenting party. If the bride answers in the affirmative, a day is fixed for the marriage when vermilion is appplied on the bride's forehead. In this case, it is not necessary to go through all the formalities of the orthodox marriage. 584 • 583

An alternative form of *Raja Raji* is seen in marriages resulting from the boy and girl's elopement and living together as man and wife. Generally such run-away couples are traced and brought home, when, as in the previous case, the Headman seeks the opinion of the bride and the marriage is solemnised with the application of vermilion. 583 [584]

(2) Hurkatara (or *Itut*, marriage by forcible application of vermilion.)

This form of marriage, also called *Itut*, is essentially a marriage by capture. If a boy finds that the girl he has set his heart upon, is not easily going to accept him, he takes a handful of vermilion or even reddish dust, and applies it by force on her forehead at a public place, as a market or a village fair, and drags her home with the help of his friends. Now, search parties trace out the kidnapped girl. The village headman with the elders assemble and question her if she came there of her own free will or was carried off by force.

3t Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

Santals. Our poetry-bag can be drawn upon to illustrate some of the customs and the corresponding emotions in the Santal bride and bride-groom. 585 538 533

A bride sings:

585 538 533

Niñ ñutum dò baba bargere mad waepe,
Gurie' mandere khuṇṭi bidme,
Niñ ñutum bàryatko hòr rege daram kope,
Niñren juridò natorege.

(Translation)

O father, build the canopy in the field (near the house, not in the court-yard).
Fix the post (of the canopy) in the cow-dung heap.
And when the bride-groom's party comes, meet them on the way (and make them return),
Because my (life's) mate is in the village.

Here is presumably a case of a girl being given marriage without her consent; a formal courtship being not always favoured by many parents now. Naturally, there are a number of unhappy marriages, and in the poem, we have just translated, the bride-groom is prescribed a humiliating reception because the bride's lover is already in the village. [584]

St Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

cing—all these vanish as of no importance on the arrival of the true he-man. 832

We questioned the Santals to find out if the capacity to dance brings in erotic energy. They replied that with long continued dance, the body gets tired and sexual energy is diminished, but in mixed dances with women, they feel gradually more and more invigorated. [535]

At this stage, it may be worth-while to note how does the Santal woo. It was gathered that when a youth sees a maid and she catches his fancy, he speaks about his love to his *bili* (elder brother's wife) or *gòròm* (grand-mother), either real or so by village-courtesy. The women belonging to these grades of relationships are very obliging to assist lads in love, and as go-betweens, they meet the girl in question and inform her of the boy's fascination for her, not forgetting to please her by making presents of hàṇḍia, khòi (fried-rice), clothes or money in the name of the lover. The girl thus won over, she mentions a date and place when her lover may meet her in secret, say in a jungle or on the way or back to a *hat* (market). Even illicit love for a married man is arranged in this manner. Such kinds of love lead mostly to marriages by consent of parents as we have already seen in the chapter on marriage. In Mayurbhanj, at present, about eighty percent of marriages are arranged by parents 584 • [607] [603] [839]

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

584 and about twenty percent result from love or capture.

593 The average Santal remains madly in love with his wife for about two years after the marriage, thereafter, his ardour cools. With children, the world of reality makes its existence felt.

584 [607] [603] Lead in courtship is also taken by the woman. In such cases she requisitions the services of her obliging sister-in-law or grandmother, who conveys the message of love. The woman does not send presents to win over the man of her choice. Further 833 enquiry regarding the point if lead in coitus is taken by women, revealed that sometimes it happens like that. But should such news leak out, it becomes [558] a subject for jokes and the husband is thought as a worthless fellow, but nothing particular is thought 554 about the girl. The girl who forces her company 192 on men or belongs to many husbands is called a "dàri" by the Santals. The boy who likes the company of women rather too much is termed "Hiròm," and a flirt is called "Khildu". The licentious fellow, who cohabits with many women is censured as a "Candal."

152 We enquired to find out if the Santals are 834 jealous by nature or not. It transpired that ordinarily the Santals do not suspect anything wrong if their women-folk talk or mix with other men on business or in course of social rounds. But human nature

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

582 614 never marries a Murmu female or a Murmu male respectively. Similarly a Tudu male never marries a Besra female and vice verse. An old Santal of Tudu sept told me the following tradition explaining why inter-marriage is not allowed between the Tudu and Besra septs.

582 614 539 Once a woman of Besra sept fell in love with a Tudu man, but the man did not agree to marry as the Besra sept is lower. Then the relatives of the man and woman made an agreement that if between the fight of their sept-animals, buffalo and cock, the cock would lose its life then there would be marriage. On the fixed day before the relatives of the both sides this fight took place. The headman of the village holding the pointed horn of the buffalo in one hand and the cock in another asked the permission of the men on both sides, and when they gave an answer in the affirmative, he let them loose and a fight then ensued between the cock and the buffalo. In the fight the cock took out the two eye-balls of the buffalo with its pointed beak, in consequence of which the buffalo lost its life. Thence no marriage was allowed between the two septs. But now no such restriction can be found.

582 584 836 184 848 Girls are married as adults mostly to men of their own choice. Sexual intercourse before marriage is tolerated ; but if a girl becomes pregnant the young man is bound to marry her. Should he attempt to evade this obligation he would be liable to severe punishment by the Jogmanjhi, and in addition to this his father would be required to pay a heavy fine.

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

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In Santal marriage there is no restriction of age. The bride may be younger, older or of equal age with the bridegroom

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There are mainly two types of marriages practised by the Santal—The marriage which is arranged by Raibar (marriage maker), is the regular form of marriage which is more prevalent but now-a-days the other forms of marriages namely those which are arranged by the couple themselves are not very uncommon.

MARRIAGE

Arranged by marriage-maker (Raibar bapla)	(arranged by couple themselves)

1. Sanga Bapla.
2. Kudam Bapla.
3. Kiring-Jawæ.
4. Gardi Jawæ Bapla.
5. Apangir Bapla.
6. Tunki Dipil Bapla.
7. Itut Bapla.
8. Nirbolok Bapla.

584

Raibar Bapla: The practice is that the parents on both sides select the bride and bridegroom. Generally it happens that some relatives of the bridegroom, when they go to some village for some business and find a suitable bride, inform the parents of the bridegroom that in such and such a village there is a suitable bride and if the son is given in marriage with her it will be a good match. After that a Raibar (marriage-broker) is appointed by the bridegroom's parents and he negotiates the marriage between them.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

• 584 If the girl's father approves, then he is taken to the bridegroom's house to enquire about the bridegroom's family position and economic condition. If he is satisfied in the enquiry then preparations are set afoot for the inspection of the bride and bridegroom by the representatives of both the parties. If the boy and the girl are regarded as suitable partners then arrangements are made for the pair to meet. The usual place for such meeting for the Santals is a fair. I [114] saw such a meeting in a fair at Katikund village within Dumka Damin. A little away from the fair a bridegroom with his relatives stood in a row and the bride with her relatives stood in another row face to face about four feet apart. Then one of the females on the bride's side approached the bridegroom and rubbed mustard oil on his face and gave him some fried rice and the woman saluted all those who were there. The same thing was repeated by a woman of the bridegroom's side to the bride and her relatives.

After this, a day is fixed for the informal inspection of the bride. On the appointed day the bridegroom's father with the headman of his village, the marriage-maker (Raiber) and a few important persons of the village starts at day break for the bride's village. When the party reaches the outskirts of the bride's village, the marriage maker contacts the headman of that village and informs him about the arrival of the party. The news of the arrival of the groom's party at the outskirts of the village is circulated by the gorait (peon of the headman) to all the members of the village. [087] Then the bride's father together with the headman go to receive them and enquire whether they have

4: Biswas D, F-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

584 (787)

encountered any omen good or evil on the way. Much depends upon these omens because evil omens even nullify the marriage negotiation. If no evil omens have been met with the parties greet each other and come to the house of the bride. As soon as they reach the house of the bride the bride's parents and the bride wash the feet of the members of the bridegroom's party with a lota (brass vessal) full of water. After the approval of the bride the bridegroom's party takes their bath and meal which is arranged by the birde's father. Then the party comes back to their village.

Jawaidhuti and Bahubandha Ceremonies: The Raiber contacts both bridegroom and bride's parents to fix the dates for the above two ceremonies. The dates are fixed according to the convenience of the parties.

At day break on the appointed day the bride's father together with the headman of the village, the headman's assistant and a few relatives and co-villagers set out for the bridegroom's house. When they reach the outskirts of the bridegroom's village, the bride's father welcomes them cordially and brings the party in the house and entertains them with handi (country liquor). Then the would be bridegroom comes and the would be father-in-law takes him on his lap and dresses him with a new piece of dhoti and turban and gives him some money which varies from annas four to one rupee, and kisses him The bridegroom drinks pachawee and is carried on the shoulders of his eldest brother-in law (sister's husband) and the members of both the parties cut jokes. After this they take their meal drink pachawee (rice beer) and sing songs with madals

1 [Erratum: this should read "bride's." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

584 and cymbals, and embrace each other. Then the bride's party comes back to their village.

After a few days the same ceremony is repeated in the bride's house. The bridegroom's party comes to the bride's house and the furture[1] father-in-law takes the girl and seats her on his thigh and gives her a solid brass necklet and kisses her.

583 [178] **Takachal (Payment of Bride-Price):** Generally the bride's father demands twelve rupees now a days. This bride-price is divided between the following persons :—

Father of the bride gets	Rs. 3/-
Mother of the bride gets	Rs. 5/-
Mother's mother gets	Rs. 2/-
Father's mother gets	Rs. 2/-

The brother of the bride will get from the bride-groom a bull, if the bridegroom's father fails to give the bull then he pays Rs. 2 in exchange. The headman of the bride's village gets from the father of the groom one rupee. From that rupee the headman pays annas eight to the bariatko (those who follow the [178] bridegroom to the bride's house). Previously there was a custom to give rice and Pachawee and not cash.

584 585 The next function is to fix the day for marriage. The Santals give their sons and daughters in marriage generally in the month of Baisakh and Phalgun. It is their custom not to marry their children in the month 584 of birth. Through the Raibar the bridegroom's father 585 sends a string with a number of knots on it. The 211 number of knots indicates the number of days. The father of the bride therefore getting the string understands that the bridegroom's father wants to fix his son's marriage as many days afterwards as the string

1 [Erratum: this should read "future." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

contains knots. Now, if the father of the bride agrees, he sends the same number of knots on another string to the bridegroom's father by the Raibar, but if he wants to have his daughter's marriage earlier or later he sends more or less knots on the string as the case may be.

Mandwa Ceremony: Then comes the Mandwa ceremony which may takes place on the marriage day or one or two days earlier. This ceremony is performed in the same manner in both bride's and bridegroom's houses. For this they build a temporary shed in the centre of the courtyard. This is a rectangular shed with a strong central post which is called *Mandwa-Khunti*. This shed is erected by the young men of the village who are known as *Mandwa Kora*. *Pachawee* and boiled rice are given to those young men both at the time of building and at the time of removing it after marriage. In the centre of the shed a branch of the Mahua tree (Madhuca latifolia Roxb) is planted and young maiden of the village keep five roots of turmeric, five paddy-grains and five pice in a hole which is dug by the unmarried younginen[1]. The Jogmanjhi brings five Kumaris (unmarried girls) to rub oil on the following persons within the Mandwa shed in the following order: Naike and his wife, Kudam naike and his wife, the headman and his wife, the Paramanik and his wife the Jogmanjhi and his wife, the parents of the bride and bridegroom, as the case may be. Last of all, in the hands of villagers who may be present there only mustard oil and turmeric is given.

[1]This has some magical significance. The rice and turmeric roots show any sign of sprouting then, the married life will be happy and never has any difficulty in married life.

[2 Erratum: i.e., "take." 3 Erratum: i.e., "maidens." -- Analyst]

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

Kudam Bapla: If a girl becomes pregnant, the young man by whom she becomes so is bound to marry her. The procedure for this kind of marriage is as follows :— 584 848 [836]

The young man informs the Jogmanjhi of his offence and the girl confesses to the wife of the Jogmanjhi. Then the Jogmanjhi informs the headman of the village and also the parents on both sides. The bridegroom pays twelve rupees and a bull for the bride-price. The Jogmanjhi then takes this couple to the house of the bridegroom's parents with the headman and some other villagers. There they fix the date of the marriage. Then on a fixed day in the house of bridegroom the latter applies vermilion to the forehead of the bride; the bridegroom at the time of applying vermilion stands facing West and the bride facing East. [583]

Kiring-jawae: If the couple belongs to the same sept, the headman of the village calls for a Panchayat, and the decision of the Panchayat will always be negative i.e. no marriage will take place. The boy's father has to bear the expenses of the marriage of the girl to another man. Then the headman of her village arranges her marriage with a boy from a far off village. Here the bridegroom gets a cow and some money from the father of the guilty a boy andhis name is always kept secret. The ceremony is performed by placing the bride on a plate and the bridegroom applies vermilion on the parting of the hair of the bride and a feast is then given to the villagers. 584 848 614 [583]

Ghardi-Jawae Marriage: This kind of marriage is resorted to when a girl is the only child of her parents. When a man has minor sons and grown-up daughter 583

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

583 he procures a ghardi-jawae to get help in his agricultural work. When a girl is ugly or deformed and there is no prospect of her being asked in marriage in the ordinary way, this form of marriage takes place.

• [584] Usually a man seeks a wife for his sons; here it is the opposite. All expenses of marriage are borne by the father of the girl. At an ordinary marriage the bridegroom's friends are called bariatko; here it is the friends of the bride that are called so. In this kind of marriage the bridegroom pays nothing for his bride but lives with his father-in-law and works for him without wages for five years. At the time of marriage the girl's parents give the young man a calf. This becomes his personal property. The girl also gets a calf at the time of marriage. She is further permitted to get "arpa", i.e., reap a few sheaves of paddy for herself. If a man wishes his ghardi-jawae to become his heir this has to be specially arranged and publicly declared and such is done at the time of marriage. When a man procures a ghardi-jawae to get help in his agricultural work, in such cases the girl's father sets aside a bit of land for this ghardi-jawae and helps him to get additional land. When the five years of service are over, the ghardi-jawae is free to depart.

585 583 On the appointed day of the marriage the bridegroom with some important persons of his village comes to the house of the bride. As soon as the bridegroom arrives, the father of the bride calls the headman and the jogmanjhi and a few others. In their presence the bridegroom performs the Sindurdan ceremony (vermilion ceremony). A good feast is

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

then arranged. The bridegroom with his wife lives in his father-in-law's house and helps him in his household and agricultural work.

Apangir Bapla: I have not come across such a marriage during my investigation. Uma Choudhury when she made a survey of Santal manners and customs in the Santal villages of Hazaribagh, got information about the Apangir Bapla. I am here giving the details of the marriage in her words. "Marriage after elopement is known as Apangir bapla. Santal men and women are quite free to meet at fairs or fields. These stray meetings often lead to love marriages. To signify that a man has fallen in love with a girl, he has to give her a flower as a token of this love wherever they meet. If she returns his love she accepts the token. If she does not she ignores it. When both the boy and the girl are thus informally betrothed by themselves they meet at a moonlit dance which is known as Jhumar dance. As the dance goes on the girl talks with the brother of the boy either real or classifactory and the conversation follows with two meanings and suggestions. The boy gradually comes near the girl of his choice and throws flower at her and is allowed to catch her hand. Then they talk between them softly and slowly so that no one knows what goes on between them. If they are satisfied in their talks the boy proposes to marry the girl and the girl in her turn asks him whether he is willing to maintain her. The usual form of reply which the boy gives is that if she obeys him he will maintain her, otherwise he will not. Immediately after Jhumar dance, regular courtship proceeds. This court-

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

583 ship period is regarded as the happiest time for both.
584 They meet regularly at some selected place outside the village in a jungle or meadow. Their movements are always kept secret. Gradually the relatives of both the parties come to know what is going on between their son and daughter. They find that the boy and the girl do not return home sometimes for days and nights together. So they have to consider consequences of such courtship between the two and even send men
583 on all directions for them. When it is found out what
584 has been going on between the boy and the girl a
629 Panchayat is called. In this Panchayat the presence of the parents of both the parties along with the headman of the two villages is necessary. Further five important persons of the village are invited. The girl's parents ask the boy why he has eloped with their daughter. The boy's parents in their turn ask the girl why she has consented to go with their boy. Then the boy and the girl have to disclose the whole thing about their courtship before the Panchayat and the two village headmen condemn them for their misbehaviour. They tell them that if they want to live together they have to marry otherwise they will not allow them to live together or to meet each other. If they are agreed to this proposal of marriage all the people present in the assembly immediately and make the
583 necessary arrangements for their marriage. In such cases
585 the marriage ceremony is not so elaborate as in the Raebar bapla. Only in the presence of the two village headmen and all the other important people of the Panchayat does the sindradan ceremony takes place.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

After that the boy has to pay sufficient money as fines to provide a feast for the whole village[1].

Tunki Dipil Bapla: This type of marriage is performed by poor men. As they have not sufficient money to bear the expenses of the regular marriage (Raibar Bapla) they resort to this type, in which the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom with a small basket on her head, a few friends and relatives accompany her to her house. The bridegroom in the presence of these persons applies vermilion mark on her head and a feast is then arranged and the couple then live as husband and wife.

Itut Bapla: This is adopted by forward young men who are not quite sure whether the girl they fancy will accept them, and take this means of compelling her to marry. The man taking some vermilion on his fingers watches his opportunity at the fair or on any similar occasion, marks the girl he is in love with on the forehead and claims her as his wife. Doing this he runs away at full speed to escape from the thrashing he may expect at the hands of her relations if he is caught on the spot. In any case the girl's relatives will go to his village and will obtain from the headmen the permission to kill and eat three of the goats of the offender or of his father and a double bride-price must be paid for the girl. The marriage is however legal and if the girl still declines to live with the man, she must be divorced in full form and cannot again be married as a spinster.

[1]Uma Chowdhury—Marriage Customs of the Santals—Bulletin of the Department of Anthropology Vol. I No. 1 January, 1952 pp. 104-105.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

583 **Nirbolok Bapla**: This form may be said to be the
584 female variety of 'Itut'. A girl, who cannot get a man whom she likes in the regular way, takes a pot of rice-beer (pachawee), enters his house and insists upon staying there. They do not adopt any physical force to expel her from the house. It is said to be quite fair and usually effective to throw red pepper on the fire as by inhaling the smoke she is compelled to run away, but if she passes this endurance test without leaving the house, she is held to have won her husband and the family is bound to recognize her.

586 **Divorce**: Divorce is a common sequel to Santal marriage and is granted at the wish of either husband or wife. Following are the grounds for which the Santal men and women demand divorce. The husband can demand divorce if his wife is proved to be a witch, or is sexually immoral and if she does not obey him or lives all the time in her father's house. The wife can claim divorce if her husband cannot supply her with sufficient food, clothing, ornaments, etc. Sterility is also an important ground for divorce. The one who wants a divorce is expected to bear the expenses. In case the husband seeks divorce he cannot claim the bride-price originally paid and also has to pay a fine of Rs. 5 and give the woman a piece of cloth. If, on the other hand, it is the wife who demands divorce without just cause, her father has to refund the bride-price to her husband. If adultery is proved against her the co-respondent is called a thief and has to pay Rs. 60 as fine. If the man is guilty, the bride-price is forfeited. The divorce is effected in the [616] presence of the assembled villagers in the following

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

CHAPTER II

MARRIAGE

582 THE choice of a bride is limited firstly by the strict observance of tribal endogamy. No Santal who forms an alliance with a non-Santal can hope to be reinstated in society. The only cases that occur are found when individual Santals are away from their village community; Santal women working in "the east" do sometimes become the concubines of men of other races, but I have heard of only one man who had taken to wife a woman of another caste. He was a fugitive from the police who had been away from his village for some years, and he was living with a woman of *Hapi* caste. The choice is further limited by the rules governing clan exogamy and also by the laws that regulate "avoidance" between certain relations by marriage. A man may marry the sister of his elder brother's wife with whom he is on terms of familiarity. On the other hand, he may not marry the sister of his younger brother's wife. All these restrictions are accepted without question; they are part and parcel of the religious and magical framework within which life must be lived.

581 Then there are many practical considerations that enter into the forming of any alliance between two families. Parents on both sides of the marriage make careful inquiries about each other's families. The location of the bride's home is of some importance. It is not advisable for a youth to marry a girl from [539] his own village. "A hen and a bride from the same village run to their homes", says the proverb. Just as it is foolish to expect a hen from another house in the village to become domesticated in new quarters, one cannot expect a bride to settle down happily when her own parents are so near at hand. On the other hand, if the bride's home is too far away, the burden and expense of mutual visits become considerable, and so it is best to seek a bride whose home is within a day's easy walk from her future husband's home. Inquiries are made about financial stability and health. Particular attention is paid to signs of leprosy, which is widespread, and also tuberculosis. The qualities most admired in brides are a capacity for hard work and good health, cheerfulness and a steady disposition. In spite of the prevalence 582 of pre-puberty marriage in India, it is extremely rare among [584] Santals. In the only case that has come to my notice, an old man of sixty-five, whose only son had died, arranged a marriage

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

for his granddaughter in order that she might be settled in life before he passed away. The girl was seven years of age and she was married to a boy of fourteen. Only a token bride price was received. Girls are usually married when they are about sixteen, while young men are generally between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. There is no test of a prospective bride's virginity. The fact that sexual experience of a kind is common before marriage is known to all, though it is not openly or actively encouraged, and a girl who is thought to be a wanton may have to wait for marriage through one of the more irregular channels that are open to her.

The initiative is taken by the parents of the bridegroom. Parents of marriageable girls are not always passive spectators, but any inquiries instituted by them are likely to be tactful and indirect. When the parents of a young man have made tentative inquiries and wish to begin negotiations they engage the services of a friend as a "go-between", known as a *racbaric*, to visit the home of the prospective bride. He addresses the parents of the girl in some such roundabout manner as the following: "Have you found a place yet for your new cooking pot? I have some friends who are unable to cook their herbs and so they have asked me to find a new cooking pot for them." If the report of this first visit is satisfactory it is followed by an exchange of ceremonial visits. First a party from the bridegroom's village journey to the bride's home. The go-between is accompanied by the young man's parents and some of their friends, a party of five or seven persons in all. Omens by the way are noted, and they are not all left to chance. Before the party enter the bride's village the *racbaric* goes ahead and tells the people to do nothing that will upset the auspicious nature of the occasion. When leaving their own village or on entering the girl's village, should they see fire, an axe, a woman with a load of wood on her head, a snake or a jackal crossing the path from left to right, they return home and the whole matter is dropped. If, however, they see a full water pot, a cow, a new brass plate, a panniered bullock, the pugmarks of a leopard or a jackal crossing the path from right to left, the omens are good. If all goes well, details of the bride price are fixed, a time is arranged when the bride's relations will pay their return visit and all is sealed by the proferring and acceptance of tobacco and beer.

On their way home from the bride's house the members of the party sing:

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

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O go-between, how far have you been
In search of good omens?

To which he replies:

Far away across the hills
Where *Cando boiga* appointed.

Again a question is asked:

O go-between, how big is the bride?

And the reply comes:

Not big nor little,
Like a broom with bells in the handle,
She is firm when used for sweeping.[1]

On the return of the party the bridegroom asks eagerly for news and his mother tells him:

I looked at her with my hand covering my eyes,
I tested the new pot by striking it,
I will choose you a sound earthen pot.[2]

When the bride's folk pay their first visit to the bridegroom's home the go-between sings to them:

Look well at the bridegroom, look well at the house,
Raise the sheaves of straw and look well.[3]

Behind this song there lies a story. It happened once that a party were visiting the home of a prospective bridegroom. They were well pleased by the condition of the house and went away satisfied with their welcome. During the whole time of their visit the young man whose home they had gone to see was seated on the veranda. His legs covered by straw, he busied himself plaiting straw rope. The next time they saw him they found that he was lame and they had been tricked. The warning serves a useful purpose, for cases where defects have been concealed are not unknown.

The party sing also about the bridegroom. They ask:

O go-between, how far is the bridegroom's home?

[1] See Appendix B, No. 22.
[2] See Appendix B, No. 24.
[3] See Appendix B, No. 23.

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

584 • 539 •

And this is the reply:

Neither far nor near,
There by the plantain grove it can be seen.

Again they ask:

O go-between, how big the bridegroom?

The answer comes:

Neither big nor little,
He herds the cows on the banks where the *kasi*[1] grass grows,
Playing sweetly on his flute.[2]

584

During the month of March 1939 Babulal recorded: "Eleven people from our village, men and women together, went today to Ambritpal to see a bridegroom. When they came to our village there were seven of them. As we were going to see the bridegroom our party was larger by four; it is our custom that more should go to see the bridegroom than come to see the bride. The party returned in the evening, singing songs as they came, for they had been drinking. The girl's relations asked them: 'Well, and how was the bridegroom and what did you think of the house? Were you pleased?' They replied: 'We are satisfied. The lad looks well enough and the house was in good condition, only we saw no "elephants' eggs".'[3] One of the men said: 'I sat so that I could see right into the inner chamber, but I could see nothing there.' A fortnight later a similar party went from Barikul and returned at an earlier hour. A number of people said: 'Why have they come back so soon? It looks as though they were not satisfied about the bridegroom. If they had been they would not have returned before sunset.' Others, however, said: 'No, they must have been pleased because they have been drinking!' "

Tradition enjoins that a further set of ceremonial visits follows these first visits in order to ratify the "engagement", but when the families are already well acquainted both time and expense are frequently saved by going through with the engagement on the first ceremonial visit. The ceremony is known as

[1] *Saccharum spontaneum*, L.
[2] See Appendix B, No. 25.
[3] Another example of figurative speech. A name for bales in which grain is stored. Their presence would indicate prosperity.

[195]

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

584 *horok' cikhna*, the "putting on of a sign" in token of the agreement. When the bridegroom's party arrive at the home of the prospective bride they are welcomed as honoured guests. String beds are placed in the courtyard for them to sit on, their feet are washed and massaged with oil and they are served with beer. This over, they are taken into the house and given parched rice with molasses to eat. Their hands are then washed by their hosts and they are served with more beer before emerging from the house. Then the guests adjourn to bathe, and on their return they are seated on mats in the courtyard to eat a meal. This meal consists of rice and curry. Unless food consists of rice and curry it is never considered to be a full meal. While the menfolk eat, the women prepare themselves by dressing their hair; they put vermilion in their hair parting and also on both sides of the forehead, the marks going up from the outer end of the eyebrows in the shape of horns. When all have eaten and washed, the guests sit down once more and the bride-to-be is brought out by a married woman to pay her respects to the visitors. When she makes a low obeisance before the bridegroom's father he invests her with the "sign". This is either a necklace, a piece of cloth or a pair of bangles. When she bows before him she places at his feet a small brass vessel full of water, and in it he drops two rupees.

584 583 In the conversation that follows, all outstanding details of the wedding arrangements are completed. First there has to be agreement about the bride price. This is known by two different terms, both of which are of Indo-Aryan origin. The first term, *gonoi*, is from a root meaning to count or calculate, and the second, *pon*, is from a root meaning earnest-money or a pledge. The amount is variable, and this leads to some bargaining. Thirty years ago seven rupees used to be considered a high figure, whereas now the sum varies from eleven to twenty-one rupees. The *jogmaṇjhi* of the bridegroom's village asks the bride's father to declare his wishes. He does so, not in words, but by placing the correct number of cowrie shells in leaf cups, whereupon the cups are passed over to the visitors. When a small bride price is agreed upon, the bridegroom's father understands that he cannot expect any gifts at the time of the marriage and he will have to bear the expenses of his own party for new clothes. Ordinarily, however, the bride's parents present the cloth to be worn by the bridegroom during the marriage ceremony. In addition, his family are entitled to receive the present of a cow or a goat, according to circumstances. The bride's family expects, in

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

addition to the bride price, to receive a cloth for the bride's mother, one for her father's eldest sister and one each for her two grandmothers.

Some agreement must also be reached about the time of the marriage. This must not take place in the month in which either the bridegroom or bride was born. Formerly, I was told, there was no other prohibition regarding the month. Nowadays, however, the general practice of Hindus in Northern India is followed. Astrologers are not consulted, but marriages may not take place during the rains, and the most popular months are during the spring when the harvest has been gathered in and food is abundant. When the time is approaching, the actual date of the wedding is arranged by the go-between, and the *giṛi* is used to mark off the days remaining.

The whole community in both villages is vitally concerned in the due celebration of the wedding, and this fact is emphasized by the rôle of the village officials. The *jogmāñjhi* of the bride's village acts as the master of ceremonies from the time when the marriage booths have to be erected until the end. The headman of the bridegroom's village does not take part in the preliminary visits by virtue of his office, but when the two families immediately involved are satisfied that they wish to proceed, both headmen are called in. They have to be present when the engagement is confirmed, and they are consulted about suitable dates. The final "contract" at the climax of the wedding celebrations is entered into by the people of the two villages, and it is made by the respective headmen. The village priest also plays a part, for the community involved in the marriage includes the spirits, who are guardians of the welfare of the tribe, and the ancestors, guardians of family and clan. Their blessing has to be sought. In an interesting passage Dr. Verrier Elwin says of the marriage ceremonial of the tribes of the Maikal hills: "There is little religion in it." On any definition of religion it would be difficult to maintain this thesis with regard to Santal marriage. The whole passage is quoted here, for the rest of what is said does apply in most of its detail to the Santal form of marriage: "We have already spoken of this ceremony as a work of art. There is little religion in it, but it has great social and symbolic value. It is hard to conceive of a better way of impressing on a man and woman their social and sexual union. The tying together of the clothes, the exchange of rings, the first meals together, the ceremonies by the river that symbolize mutual aid in domestic, sexual and food-obtaining activities, are of great significance.

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42
[The Santal Christian Community]

of ties that have been maintained with kinsfolk and something on the general regard for the individuals concerned. The same variety is found in the degree to which precautions against *bhut* and other unseen adversaries are observed, but a new element has been introduced in the prayer offered on the occasion by the local leader of the church. Infant Baptism follows usually during some part of the first year of the child's life. Very young children are withheld from Baptism as a rule, and this may be partly due to a feeling that the ceremony is in some way dangerous to the new-born infant. Among some people it is sought in connection with the time when the child first begins to eat rice; among others it is customary for them to offer their children in Baptism on Christmas Day. When the child is taken to church to be baptized both the parents and the child are dressed in new clothes and relatives and neighbours are invited to a feast in the home of the child.

Many pre-Christian elements remain in the preparations made for marriage. The choice of marriage partners is still largely in the hands of the parents of the bridegroom and the bride. The services of a go-between are engaged and ceremonial visits take place during the course of which the bride price is negotiated and paid. During the early years of the mission the custom of bride price was actively discouraged, but a fuller understanding of its importance has led to a tacit acceptance by the authorities; in the meanwhile it is now often referred to by Christians under the name of "mutual help". The rise of economic standards in the Christian community is reflected in a tendency among parents of Christian girls to demand a bride price higher than the rate current in the non-Christian community. From time to time Christians have met to discuss means by which the bride price may be fixed and excessive demands restricted. On the eve of the religious ceremony which is central in Christian marriage the traditional anointing is observed in the homes of both parties to the marriage and many of the traditional songs are sung. A Christian explained these ceremonies by saying that they are regarded as a way of saying to the bride and bridegroom: "From now you are separate." It cannot be denied that they are an effective way of emphasizing this truth.

The marriage ceremony, which has to be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Indian Christian Marriage Act, is held either in a church building or, where there is no church, in the courtyard of the bride's home. The last occasion on which I was present at a Santal Christian marriage was in February 1945.